Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9912

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

USUN NEW YORK 4499

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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR IS US

SUBJECT: RABIN VISIT: THE PROSPECTS AS THE PRIME MINISTER DEPARTS

SUMMARY: THERE IS WIDESPREAD EXPECTATION

THAT RABIN'S WASHINGTON CONSULTATIONS WILL HIGHLIGHT US/ISRAELI

DIFFERENCES ON TEMPO AND SUBSTANCE OF NEGOTIATING

INITIATIVES. RABIN APPARENTLY IS COMING WITHOUT CON-

CRETE NEW PROPOSALS, LIMITING HIMSELF INSTEAD TO CALL

FOR RECONVENING GENEVA CONFERENCE WITHOUT PLO AND

RESTATEMENT OF ISRAELI READINESS FOR TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS IN EXCHANGE FOR OVERALL PEACE AGREEMENT. HE

WILL EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT LEVEL OF ADMINISTRATIONS

FY 77 AID REQUEST. EXPECTED US VETO AT END OF UNSC

MIDDLE EAST DEBATE IS SEEN AS BLOCKING SYRIAN/SOVIET

STRATEGY AND PRESERVING GENEVA FRAMEWORK BUT DOES

NOT RESOLVE DOUBTS ABOUT US/ISRAELI DIFFERENCES ON

HANDLING OF PALESTINIAN ISSUE IN FUTURE. ISRAELI

COMMENTATORS VIEW LEBANESE CEASEFIRE AS EITHER MOMEN-

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TARY PAUSE OR VEILED SYRIAN/PLA TAKEOVER, AND REMAIN

CONCERNED THAT LEBANON IS ON WAY TO BECOMING CONFRONTATION STATE. FOR RABIN, HIS THIRD US VISIT SINCE BECOMING PRIME MINISTER IS NEW TEST OF HIS LEADERSHIP. ABROAD HIS VISIT WILL BE COMPARED TO, AND JUDGED AGAINST, ACHIEVEMENTS OF SADAT LAST OCTOBER. IN ISRAEL THERE WILL BE ADDED TEST OF WHETHER HE HAS MANAGED TO PRESERVE THE COUNTRY'S INTERESTS AS THEY ARE UNDERSTOOD HERE WITHOUT DAMAGING FABRIC OF US/ISRAELI RELATIONSHIP. END SUMMARY.

1. RABIN DEPARTURE STATEMENT AND CABINET COMMUNIQUE (SEPTELS) CONFIRM DUAL FOCUS OF PRIME MINISTER'S THIRD US VISIT IN HIS 20 MONTH TERM OF OFFICE: TO MAINTAIN CLSE AND EFFECTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH US AND TO SEEK COMMON APPROACH FOR NEXT STAGES OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH ARAB STATES. INTENTIONAL BLANDNESS OF CABINET ANNOUNCEMENT, WHICH SIMPLY AUTHORIZES RABIN VISIT ON BASIS OF GOVERNMENT GUIDELINES AND DECISIONS, GIVES PRIME MINISTER CONSIDERABLE LATITUDE AS REGARDS BOTH HIS SUBSTANTIVE CONSULTATIONS AND HIS PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS. AT SAME TIME, IT IMPLIES THAT RABIN COMES TO US WITHOUT SPECIFIC NEW PROPOSALS.

2. THERE IS WIDELY-HELD CON-

VICTION AMONG POLITICIANS AND COMMENTATORS THAT 1976 WILL BE YEAR OF TRANSITION DURING WHICH, BARRING UNEXPECTED BREAKTHROUGH, LOCAL PARTIES WILL BE AWAITING OUTCOME OF US ELECTION BEFORE FORMULATING CONCRETE DECISIONS ON NEXT STEPS. FORM ISRAELI PERSPECTIVE RABIN VISIT WILL BE JUDGED PRIMARILY, NOT BY SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS OR LACK THEREOF ON NEGOTIATING FRONT, BUT BY HIS ABILITY TO PRESENT ISRAEL'S CASE TO ADMINISTRA-TION, CONGRESS AND US PUBLIC. VISIT WILL BE MEASURED AGAINST PUBLIC RELATIONS ACHIEVEMENTS OF PRESIDENT SADAT LAST OCTOBER. INDEED RABIN HAS CONCENTRATED HIS EFFORTS IN RECENT DAYS ON PREPARING HIS ADDRESS TO JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS AND OTHER PUBLIC STATEMENTS, STARTING IN PHILADELPHIA THS AFTERNOON.

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3. RABIN'S SPEECH TO CONGRESS. CONGRESSIONAL ADDRESS, ACCORDING TO USUALLY RELIABLE PRESS SOURCES, WHILE NOT BREAKING NEW GROUND WILL BE POSITIVE AND UPBEAT. IT WILL EMPHASIZE ISRAEL'S PEACE ASPIRATIONS, FLEXIBILITY ON TERRITORIAL ISSUES AND COMMITMENT TO SEEK SOLUTION TO PALESTINIAN QUESTION. THE

SPEECH'S MAIN THEMES REPORTEDLY WILL BE A) RECONVENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE IN 1976 ON BASIS OF ORIGINAL PARTICIPANTS, AND B) ISRAEL'S READINESS FOR SIGNIFICANT TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS IN RETURN FOR PEACE. RABIN WILL EXPRESS CONFIDENCE THAT PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, WHILE NOT HEART OF ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE, CAN BE SOLVED IN FRAMEWORK OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH JORDAN, AND EXPLAIN THAT ARAB STATE HAD FAILED TO SEEK ITS SOLUTION IN PRE-1967 PERIOD WHEN WEST BANK AND GAZA WERE NOT UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL. HE WILL SHY AWAY FROM CATEGORICAL NEGATIVES, SUCH AS REFUSAL TO COME DOWN FROM GOLAN HEIGHTS, FOR WHICH HE HAS BEEN CRITICIZED IN RECENT MONTHS.

4. THE WASHINGTON AGENDA. ISRAELIS ANTICIPATE THAT PRIME MINISTER'S DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY WILL BE DIFFICULT, FOCUSING ON INTERRELATED ISSUES OF NEXT STEPS IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS AND BILATERAL US/ISRAELI RELATIONS. ON FORMER, AS NOTED ABOVE, LOCAL COMMENTATORS BELIEVE RABIN IS COMING WITHOUT NEW PROPOSALS AND WILL REITERATE PREFERENCE FOR NEW EFFORT AT CONVENING GENEVA CONFERENCE. ISRAELI RADIO REPORTS THAT SECRETARY'S MOSCOW CONSULTATIONS ALSO EXAMINED GENEVA PROSPECTS, WITH CRUNCH

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QUESTION BEING DIFFERENCES OVER PLO PARTICIPATION. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE PESSIMISM HERE REGARDING POSSIBILITY OF ACTIVATING EITHER SYRIAN-ISRAELI OR JORDANIAN-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS FOR INTERIM AGREEMENTS. ASAD'S INTRANSIGENCE AND DISINTEREST SEEM TO PRECLUDE THE FORMER WHILE RABAT CONFERENCE DECISION CONTINUES TO STAND IN WAY OF THE LATTER.

- 5. ON BILATERAL LEVEL, RABIN WILL MAKE CASE FOR SUSTAINING ISRAELI MILITARY/ECONOMIC AID AT CURRENT LEVELS DESPITE ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION TO REDUCE FMS PORTION OF FY 77 AID PACKAGE. HAARETZ' WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT SAYS RABIN WILL REQUEST AN ADDITIONAL \$250 MILLION. (SEE SEPTEL)
- 6. AS RABIN FLIES WESTWARD, ATTENTION HERE IS FOCUSED ON TWO INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING BOTH WASHINGTON CONSULTATIONS AND LONGER TERM CHALLENGES FACING ISRAEL: IMMINENT CONCLUSION OF UNSC MIDDLE SECRET

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EAST DEBATE; AND EVOLUTION OF LEBANESE CRISIS.

- 7. AFTER WEEKS OF UNCERTAINTY AS TO WHAT KIND OF RESOLUTION ARAB STATES WOULD PRESENT AND HOW US WOULD VOTE IN UNSC, TENSIONS HAVE NOW SUBSIDED WITH US VETO TAKEN AS VIRTUALLY FOREGONE CONCLUSION. ISRAEL WILL DOUBTLESS EXPRESS SATISFACTION AND APPRECIATION FOR US VETO WHICH IT REGARDS AS MEETING US/ISRAEL/ EGYPTIAN OBJECTIVE OF BLOCKING SOVIET-SYRIAN STRATEGY AND OF PRESERVING GENEVA NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK. ISRAELI RADIO'S UN COMMENTATOR THIS MORING NOTED THAT NEXT UNSC INVOLVEMENT IN MIDDLE EAST SITUATION WILL BE UPON EXPIRY OF UNDOF MANDATE ON MAY 30. AT SAME TIME, LOCAL COMMENTATORS NOTE THAT US VETO AT MOST PROVIDES RESPITE, BUT NOT ESCAPE, FROM CONTINUING INTERNATIONAL (AND US) PRESSUREW FOR ISRAELI RECONSIDERATION ON PALESTINIAN ISSUE.
- 8. LEBANESE CRISIS. ISRAELIS TEND TO VIEW CEASEFIRE
 AS EITHER MOMENTARY PAUSE IN CIVIL WAR OR AS
 VEILED SYRIAN/PLA TAKEOVER. (EVRON TOLD CHARGE'
 THAT LEBANON WAS NOW A "CLIENT STATE" OF SYRIA.)
 IN EITHER INTERPRETATION, ISRAELI LEADERSHIP AND
 COMMENTATORS REMAIN CONCERNED THAT LEBANON INEXORABLY

IS BEING TRANSFORMED INTO CONFRONTATION STATE. OVER WEEKEND, RABIN WARNED THAT ISRAEL "WON'T STAND ASIDE IF CERTAIN DEVELOPMENTS TAKE PLACE," WHILE DEFENSE MINISTER PERES SAID ISRAEL WAS CORRECT IN REFUSING TO INTERVENE IN LEBANESE CIVIL WAR BUT REMAINS FREE TO ASSURE ITS OWN DEFENSE AS CIRCUMSTANCES REQUIRE. AS INDEX OF GRAVITY WITH WHICH LEBANESE CRISIS IS BEING VIEWED HERE, RABIN REPORTEDLY HAS INSTRUCTED HIS MILITARY ADVISOR ARIK SHARON--WHO WAS DUE TO ACCOMPANY HIM TO WASHINGTON--TO STAY BEHIND AND REPORT TO HIM ON THE DEVELOPING SITUATION.

9. DOMESTIC SCENE. GOVERNMENT'S AUTHORITY HAS BEEN CHALLENGED BY KNESSET COALITION MEMBERS TWICE IN LAST WEEK. ITS CENSORSHIP PROPOSALS ENCOUNTERED WIDESPREAD RESISTANCE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE COMMITTEE, WHILE ITS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PREVENTING SECRET

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MAJOR BUS STRIKE BY EXTENDING NEW SUBSIDIES WERE TURNED DOWN IN FINANCE COMMITTEE. STRIKE IS NOW IN ITS FIFTH DAY. BOTH INSTANCES INDICATE THAT GOVERNMENT IS FAILING TO MARSHAL ITS FORCES BEFORE FORMULATING POLICY, EXPOSING ITSELF TO CHARGES OF WEAKNESS AND MALADROITNESS.

10. CONCLUSION: OUTCOME OF WASHINGTON VISIT WILL
BE CAREFULLY SCRUTINIZED HERE AS TEST OF RABIN'S LEADERSHIP AND AS SIGNPOST FOR THE FUTURE. RABIN'S
PREFERENCE FOR MOVING SLOWLY AND POSTPONING FURTHER
DECISIONS UNTIL AFTER US ELECTIONS DOES NOT MESH WELL
WITH EXPRESSED US CONCERN TO PREVENT DEADLOCK LEADING
TO NEW WAR. HOWEVER VISIT GOES, THERE IS LIKELY
TO BE INCREASED INTERNAL PRESSURES FOR CABINET DEBATE
ON PALESTINIAN ISSUE AFTER RABIN'S RETURN AND
POSSIBLY RENEWED CALLS FOR EARLY ELECTION. HARD
DECISIONS ON THE PALESTINIANS, THE WEST BANK AND
THE GOLAN LIE AHEAD, AND THIS WEEK'S TALKS MAY
CLARIFY WHEN THOSE DECISIONS WILL BE FACED AND IN
WHAT ORDER.
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